**EXCLUSIVE: ISRAEL EPSTEIN BEGINS A DRAMATIC SERIES ON TIBET . . . P. 6**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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**A little learning is a dangerous thing . . .**

**Dangerous for what it does to bigotry, that is. Above, a crowd of Georgia Tech students burns Georgia's Gov. Marvin Griffin in effigy in an Atlanta street. The Governor wanted to keep the Tech team out of the Sugar Bowl football game with Pittsburgh on Jan. 2 because Pittsburgh has a Negro on its team. Unflattering but educational signs read, among other things: "Grow up, Marv." The Board of Regents later ruled that Georgia Tech could play — this year.**

LABOR

# Rumbles of discord heard as AFL and CIO merge; Meany hails the cold war

**By Elmer Bendiner**

GEORGE MEANY and Walter Reuther together wielded a single gavel in New York's 71st Regiment Armory last week as they opened the first convention of the AFL-CIO. The total was impressive—15,000,000 U. S. workers under one banner. "Unity" had been a long-standing hope, but the merger was accomplished with less crusading spirit and more misgivings than was the splitting of the "House of Labor" 20 years ago.

The CIO held its 17th and last convention at Manhattan Center in a haze of nostalgia for the spirited 30's when the CIO was born. Despite strenuous efforts on the part of the leaders, it inevitably resembled a wake. Missing from the dais was not only the spirit which brought a new militancy to the labor movement but the men who provided that spirit. John L. Lewis, first president of the CIO, was predicting that the new organization "would part like a rope of sand."

**"SUBMERGER":** Many of the men and women who had done the leg work in CIO's big organizing drives had been purged. The bossism, racketeering, raiding and racism which CIO set out to conquer was still in the labor movement and the CIO seemed ready to compromise all issues for the sake of "unity."

Much of the convention was given to pageantry and song like the last reunion of a college fraternity; but in the brief hours of debate Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, called it not a merger but a "submerger" of the CIO, said it was "a bad deal" and a "black day" and that the new constitution was a "license" for raiding and racism. Reuther answered:

"I say to Mike, in all good spirit, you have broken with some of your former colleagues in the party, but somehow the tactics linger on."

The red-baiting cut deep, for Quill had eagerly joined the red-baiters when the CIO first turned on its militants. Moreover, as the **Daily Worker** pointed out, the Communists, though

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*THE TIMES KNUCKLES UNDER*

## Senate press probe held in New York; McManus-Aronson quiz is scheduled

AS THE GUARDIAN went to press, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee had completed two of three scheduled days of closed hearings on "subversive" activities in the New York press, radio and theater. The appearance on the witness stand of the GUARDIAN's general manager John T. McManus and executive editor James Aronson was postponed until Dec. 7 because their attorney was engaged in court.

The committee refused to give out any information about the witnesses, but it was known that several of those subpenaed came from the N. Y. **Times.** Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.) was acting as chairman at the New York hearings in the reported illness of Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.). Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) indicated that public hearings would be held either in New York or Washington, possibly next week.

**I. F. Stone's Weekly** (Dec. 5) said the main target is

". . . the N. Y. **Times,** which earned the hatred of the witch hunters by opposing McCarthy and McCarthyism. It is painful to report that the **Times,** despite all it has said on the subject, has surrendered to the witch hunt. It is urging employes subpenaed . . . to 'co-operate' and it has already discharged one employe, and forced the resignation of another for refusing to do so."

*IT WILL TAKE A BIG PUSH TO CHANGE IT*

## Walter-McCarran Act denounced at hearings

FEW LAWS in modern times have been more universally denounced than the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. Top leaders in both political parties (including Mr. Eisenhower), all sections of the labor movement, leaders of all religious faiths have assailed it both before and after its adoption but it seems firmly anchored on the books. Public support of the law is scant; few raise their voices in its behalf. But its backers, if not vocal, are powerful and are centered in the Congress: lawmakers from all the South and most of the Midwest and Mountain West are for it.

As hearings on the law before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee got under way on Nov. 21, Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.), a leader of the fight against it, sadly conceded that he saw little chance and held little hope for any major revision in it during the coming session of Congress.

**IKE'S NOT HELPING:** Some cynics held that some of the opposition would not be too unhappy if it remained unchanged for the present because it makes such good material for campaign promises in a Presidential year. Eisenhower made the most of it in his campaign; he pledged "to rewrite the unfair provisions . . . to get the bigotry out of it" and declared that "we must get a better law than this McCarran Act."

But Sen. Harley M. Kilgore, (D-W. Va.), who is conducting the current hearings, complained at their start that the Administration is not co-operating, has no proposals for revision or change, and that Secy. of State Dulles and Atty. Gen. Brownell, invited long in advance to appear, both failed to give any definite word if and when they might take the stand.

The fight against the bill cuts across party lines; it was adopted by a Congress controlled by Democrats over a veto by a Democratic President.

**THE QUOTA SYSTEM:** Bitterest opposition to the measure centers on its "national origins" quota system, based upon the breakdown of U. S. population according to the 1920 census. This favors so-called Anglo-Saxon or Nordic lands, raises bars against Southern and Eastern European countries.

Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), in a statement prepared for the Kilgore committee, calls it "the most blatant piece of discrimination in the nation's history" and says it lets in those who don't want to come and keeps out

*(Continued on Page 4)*

Fred Wright in UE News Service
**"Just imagine . . . Columbus, a foreigner!"**

## Renew now with a pledge for '56

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### Natural voice?

BELLE GLADE, FLA.

Now we hear the Pope actually saw Jesus with his beard and white gown—just like the Church has pictured Him—and to top it off they've just added that he heard Him speak and in His natural voice. How could he tell if it was His natural voice? He never heard Him in life.

The next thing will be that he heard Him say the people must keep the Holy Crusade going (that is what Spellman said not long ago), or maybe He came right out and said "The people must destroy all Communists."

How gullible does he think His followers are! France Lyngholm

### Ghoulism

LITTLETON, MASS.

Never does anyone ask what is wrong or what's happening to our civilization for fear of throwing light on the real causes. So the people must take it for granted that humans are just simply bad and naturally destructive but don't feel too bad because He forgives. That thought is being planted through popular songs, the clergy and anyone else who can get one's self heard, read or seen.

Capitalism, by nature, thrives on disasters, relies upon tragedies to prevent the economy from slumping. Ghoulish as it seems we all live and exist on blood money. I suggest the American system be named Ghoulism in place of capitalism. James Pacy Jr.

### Mary Norris comments

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Earlier this year, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN published a series of articles by Tabitha Petran dealing with the economic situation in the U. S. In the course of these articles, Miss Petran quoted briefly form an article of mine which appeared in **Political Affairs** ("Is the Economic Cycle 'Under Control,'" June, 1955), and took issue with the viewpoint expressed in it.

I should like to make some friendly, if belated, comments on the main difference between us. This centers on the approach progressives and left forces should take toward the projection of anti-depression programs.

First, let me emphasize that I agree with Miss Petran as to the inevitability of economic crises under capitalism. Capitalism tends to develop its productive forces as though the sky were the only limit, while it simultaneously restricts the market through exploitation of the working class and of the great majority of the people. This, stated in a much over-simplified form, is the basic cause of periodic crises. Therefore, crises can be eliminated only when capitalism is replaced by a new, socialist society.

I also agree with Miss Petran that the main illusion spread by modern capitalist economies is that the business cycle can be controlled and economic crises done away with through government intervention. This is the essence of the Keynesian theory.

But it is wrong to equate this Keynesian fallacy with the real possibility that certain specific features of a crisis can be altered, including its exact timing, duration, depth, and impact on different classes. Yet Miss Petran does equate these two propositions. Consequently she rejects anti-depression programs developed by labor, or even those put forward by the Left forces, as illusory and misleading. This, it appears to me, is a serious error both in principle and tactics.

Progressives should recognize that there are two methods to delay the onset of economic crisis and to modify its concrete features. One is the policy adopted by the U. S. government during the last decade—in essence, vast military spending and credit inflation. This has tended to postpone a severe crisis while at the same time it sharpens the basic causes of eventual crisis, and lays the groundwork for placing its full burden on the backs of the people. In her analysis of the economic situation in the U. S. today, Miss Petran appears to recognize this, at least to a degree, although elsewhere she minimizes the role of these monopoly-dictated measures in delaying acute crisis.

What is most obviously lacking in Miss Petran's approach, however, is an alternative to this reactionary program. By this, I mean an alternative for which the labor movement and its allies can be mobilized to struggle today (not the ultimate, complete solution which only socialism can provide). This is a very important question, particularly in the light of the Geneva conference, which has opened up possibilities for a more stable peace and for a consequent reduction in armaments.

The answer lies in fighting for a peacetime economic program which could delay crisis without resort to ever larger arms spending, and which would also provide greater protection for the people against the worst effects of depression. Such a program would include measures to increase real wages and the income of the masses generally, through a more adequate farm program, expanded social security, and the like; a vast government construction program for housing, schools, hospitals, power projects, and so forth, and expanded trade, especially between socialist and capitalist countries.

Realization of such a program is possible only through broad economic and political struggle, and would involve considerable strengthening of labor, and the democratic, peace forces in the U. S. today. However, if world peace can be maintained, if democratic rights can be re-established and maintained, then the achievement of such a peacetime economic program is by no means impossible.

The anti-depression programs advanced by labor are a step in this direction. They include many, though not all of the above demands. At the same time, Keynesian illusions have been injected into these programs, to the effect that such measures could actually eliminate depressions.

How should progressives deal with the two-sided nature of such trade union programs? First, by joining in the struggle for the demands they project, in order to postpone the onset of crisis and to cushion its effect on the masses. Second, by realizing that the struggle for such anti-depression programs is the arena in which workers can learn the limit of what can be achieved under capitalism, and by helping this understanding to grow through patient explanation of the basic reasons for crisis.

I regret these remarks are so late in reaching you; however, the topic remains an important one on which I hope discussion will continue in progressive circles.

Mary Norris

Miss Petran will comment on the above and other views in a forthcoming article.—Ed.

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

**Why does the Kremlin hate bananas? To judge from the way international Communism has made the United Fruit Co. its pet whipping boy in the Middle Americas, the banana has become a symbol—a symbol of one of the greatest obstacles the Soviet faces in its struggle to gain a foothold in the Western Hemisphere.**

**Why has the United Fruit been accorded this special distinction? Why is it that, in the relentless propaganda line directed to our Middle American neighbors, the banana symbolizes all that the Soviet fears and hates?**

—From an article entitled "How United Fruit Fights Communism With Bananas," in **Printers Ink**, June 10, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Dinah Solomon (age 13) N. Y. C. Please send original clipping with entry.

### Attention, England

GASPORT, N. Y.

Got Belfrage's letter: even in England they know I am behind with my sub. Nov. 9 I sent you $3 for a new subscriber but failed to see my own sin. So enclosed is $3 for my sub and $1 aid. Please notify England that I am not so bad as I seemed. F.

N. Y. Herald Tribune

**"Instead of building new schools, why don't they teach something in the ones we now have."**

### Xmas in Greece

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We want to express our warmest thanks for your outstanding coverage of recent events in Greece.

Because of the GUARDIAN's policy of carrying news which most other papers seek to suppress, your readers are aware that the plight of the political prisoners of Greece is desperate.

We urge your readers to support our campaign for Christmas funds for these imprisoned patriots. Such contributions will have a many-sided effect. They will enable us to send the food and medicine they must have if they are to survive. Even more important is the moral support such funds will render to the ever-growing forces who are determined to open the gates of the political prisons of Greece and free our brothers and sisters.

S. Metaxas
Council of Greek Americans
257 7th Av., N. Y. C.

### Capricious, irrational

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Among the 300 luncheon guests who paid their tributes of affection and respect to Marion Bachrach on the occasion of her 57th birthday, were men and women holding all shades of political opinion. One of the warmest tributes paid to an old friend was that of former Congressman John T. Bernard.

But all were united in their deep indignation and determination to protest the Attorney General's order that Marion Bachrach be once again brought to trial under the Smith Act. Since her case was severed during the second Foley Sq. trials because of cancer she has undergone drastic surgery which makes it capricious, irrational and inhumane that she should be ordered to trial again.

On the day when this retrial opens, friends rallying to her support will see a sign outside the courtroom: "Silence—Court in Session." It should also bear the words "Justitia Vacat," to make official a shameful reality—that justice has indeed fled our courts.

Protests must go to Atty. Gen. Brownell and to Senators Lehman and Ives asking for their good offices on behalf of Marion Bachrach.

Muriel I. Symington

### Salt of the Earth

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed is $25, the gleanings from a pitch made at another of our Gourmet dinners. Ten couples meet to go out to dinner. We figure if we can afford to eat out, we can likewise afford to give something to a cause the host thinks is worthy. You are the recipient this time. Glad it could be this much.

A. Greenberg

•

SALEM, OHIO

Enclosed you will find money order for $30 for your press fund. Group of progressive workers donated this money. We wish you good luck. M. C.

•

ONTARIO, CALIF.

We gave a farewell party for two couples who moved from Ontario. We had hoped to make this a fund-raising affair for the GUARDIAN but, because such an affair had been held the previous week for another cause, we knew it would be a great deal of work for little returns. However, to everyone's delight, one of our honorees went to work and collected $25 from Ontario friends which she turned over to us the night of the party. How about that! Esther Mandel

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Birthday Party is over and it was beautiful. Thanks to Jim Aronson and the staff for the wonderful message. You really warmed our hearts from "icy New York." We gave Tiba Willner a check for $200. She lit the candles and we sang "Happy Birthday" to the GUARDIAN, also to Cedric Belfrage.

Jack Fox, for
Eastside Guardian Committee

•

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The party for the GUARDIAN was held. We had seven cakes and there was a candle-lighting ceremony which I think was very impressive. We netted about $56.

We also voted to set up a San Diego Guardian Angel Club with the dual purpose of supporting the GUARDIAN and also having a little fun at the same time. I believe we now have at least the machinery to enable us to do a little more effective job of supporting the GUARDIAN in the future.

A. M. Stevens


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Vol. 8, No. 8 178 DECEMBER 12, 1955

**REPORT TO READERS**

# L. A.: Terrific!

HUZZAHS AND WONDERFUL ENJOYMENT! . . . "The best affair of the three Annuals we have held thus far." . . . "Tops socially and content-wise." These are a few of the wild echoes we have caught at presstime from our Los Angeles area Big Event held Fri., Dec. 2, at the Glen-Aire Country Club in Sherman Oaks.

Les Pine and Ernie Lieberman staged a 50-minute show which the hundreds of guests agreed was "marvelous"; Dalton Trumbo was MC; the band was grand and the dinner too; and the setting was just about as pleasing as anyone could ask. As for generosity: the folks who came did so by virtue of having scurried up $15 each in new subs, pledges, contributions, net proceeds from taffy pulls, bean suppers, Hi-Fi fests and the like, so the GUARDIAN benefitted handsomely, thanks to all present and even some who couldn't come!

TIRELESS TIBA WILLNER, the GUARDIAN's Lone Ranger for the territory from Bakersfield down to the Border, went through hail and high water to bring it off right—even to a last-hour change of place and date. A couple of hate-merchants tried to scuttle the affair, reacting with considerable horror at finding a group of "Guardian Angels" planning a good time right under their needle-noses; but the resulting publicity, if anything, heightened the interest. So chalk up another High Time for our side; with all our gratitude to the fine and faithful who made the evening memorable.

One message we shall treasure for aye came from John Howard Lawson, whose fruitful career of 40 years as author-playwright-scenarist and fighting democrat was celebrated last month by hundreds of friends on his 61st birthday. Here is Jack Lawson's salute:

"The NATIONAL GUARDIAN has indeed been a guardian of the best and noblest journalistic traditions during these years. Cedric Belfrage and his associates have fought courageously, with admirable skill and integrity, to keep people informed of the real issues and meanings of contemporary events.

"They have helped to bring about the striking change in the climate of opinion in the U. S. that gives new hope for a democratic renaissance in our country and for peace in the world.

"I send my greetings to Tiba as a dear friend; and through her, I salute Cedric in his temporary exile, and I offer my congratulations to the men and women who are helping to make history in making the GUARDIAN what it is."

WELL, BEFORE WE START stammering and falling over our big feet we'll sign off right here, after one short business announcement:

You, too, can be the life of a GUARDIAN Party, and what better time to plan one than during the up-coming holidays—New Year's Eve for example? Let us know how we can help.

—THE GUARDIAN

JOE McCARTHY'S GHOST HOWLED IN THE CORRIDOR

# Bill of Rights gets its day in the Senate

By Lawrence Emery

THE SENATE CAUCUS ROOM, scene of some of Joe McCarthy's noisiest sprees, last month had a quieter, more dignified tenant: the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights headed by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.). The McCarthy uproars drew overflow audiences, were reported in scare headlines; the country was blinded and deafened with saturation coverage by TV and radio. By contrast, the Hennings committee is like a crew of clean-up men after a wild New Year's Eve binge, carefully sweeping up confetti, pop-corn bags, broken penny whistles and empty bottles.

The hearings began Nov. 14 and temporarily halted on Nov. 29 because Atty. Gen. Brownell, invited a month earlier, was too busy to take the stand. This first of a series of hearings was concerned with violations of the rights of free speech and freedom of assembly and association guaranteed by the First Amendment. Sen. Hennings on Nov. 29 called a recess "until the Attorney General can agree on a date to appear."

**A NEW LOOK:** In the field of civil liberties, the hearings are unique. For the first time since the start of the cold war, the victims of this decade of hysteria are being heard. Witnesses are treated politely and with respect; there are no threats of contempt; no voices are raised; everyone speaks his mind freely. It is like a return to sanity after the ten-year bedlam of the Inquisition.

Topics covered so far include the government's arbitrary denial of passports; the effect of government security regulations on the lives of government employes, military personnel and workers in private industry; the misuse of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations; the damage done by the concept of guilt by association or kinship; and the practice of punishing people for invoking a Constitutional privilege.

**NO EXCEPTIONS:** The hearings began with statements of principle by three prominent exponents of civil liberties: Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Prof.

Afro-American, Baltimore

**"Will this be enough backbone to save him?"**

Zechariah Chafee of Harvard, and New York attorney Morris Ernst. Dr. Meiklejohn, dean of U. S. educators, vigorously expounded the old-fashioned notion that under the Constitution Americans are a self-governing people whose rights cannot be abridged by Congress or any other agency of government.

He described the First Amendment as "a very uncompromising statement" which "admits of no exceptions":

> "It tells us that the Congress and by implication, all other agencies of the government, are denied any authority whatever to limit the Political Freedom of the citizens of the United States."

Investigation of political beliefs he called "an intolerable invasion of the 'reserved powers' of the governing People" and asserted that political freedom "does not rest upon the Fifth Amendment 'right' of one who is governed to avoid self-incrimination":

**SEN. THOS. C. HENNINGS JR.**
*There was quiet and he listened*

> "It expresses the Constitutional authority, the legal power, of one who governs to make up his own mind without fear or favor, with the independence and freedom in which self-government rests. . . . To be afraid of any idea is to be unfit for self-government. . . . The freedom of ideas shall not be abridged."

**PAULING'S STORY:** Dr. Linus Pauling, professor at the California Institute of Technology, described the capriciousness of the State Dept. in denying passports. His was canceled in 1952, forcing him to call off a series of lectures abroad. For the next two years he was sometimes granted a limited passport, sometimes denied one, rarely knowing if he would make a trip until a few moments before departure time. In 1954 he was finally denied any passport under any circumstances on the ground of suspicion that he was a "secret Communist," which he denied. Later that year he was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry. The State Dept. couldn't stand the resulting glare of world publicity; Dr. Pauling was hurriedly given an unrestricted passport.

Testimony on the misuse of the Attorney General's list—originally designed solely to screen government employes—showed that at least 13 states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and four cities have used it as a basis for harassing the local citizenry.

**NEVER A ONE:** Stanley W. Church, mayor of New Rochelle, N. Y., first town in the country to pass an ordinance requiring "subversives" to register, called the law a "sad" failure, reported that "never a one" has registered, and said he may ask its repeal. Capt. Carl Lawrence of the Delaware State Police, charged with enforcing his state's registration law—which provides punishment of ten years in prison—said the law is a failure and that he has no way of determining who is subversive, despite having listened to 30 hours of lectures by government informer Louis Budenz. Asked Sen. Hennings:

"How many Communists have you caught in this net?"

"The net must be full of holes. We haven't caught any."

Asked directly if there are any Communists in his state, Capt. Lawrence said: "I certainly don't know."

**THREAT TO LABOR:** Joseph L. Rauh Jr., attorney for the United Auto Workers, told of the threat to the organized labor movement of the government's industrial security program which now covers some three million workers in private industry. He cited an example:

> "We have seen an employer deliberately ask for the transfer of a worker from a non-security to a security job and request clearance for this employe for access to classified information for the sole purpose of having him designated as a security risk and discharging him."

Answering the argument that such screening procedures are necessary to prevent sabotage, Rauh pointed out that there is "no recorded case of sabotage during World War II or, what is more significant, during the Korean war."

**ARMY CASE HISTORY:** The Army's treatment of suspected "subversives" was covered with several case histories:

- A man cleared as a "security risk" as a Naval Reserve Officer was denied civilian employment with the Navy on the same "evidence."
- An Army private who, on religious principles, declined to sign the Army's non-subversive affidavit was thereupon ordered to share a special room with a soldier he had never seen before. A year later he was accused of "close and continuing association" with a Communist: the man he had been ordered to room with.
- A man got into the Army's net because his mother-in-law "was reported to be lying low as a Communist for a long time, and . . . was supposed to become active in the peace movement again." His mother-in-law had died 15 years before, when he was 11 years old and his wife six.

During the hearings the Defense Dept. announced some "modifications" in its security program; henceforth, it said, "no anonymous communications will be made part of the individual's record," and men slated for the draft will be investigated before induction instead of afterward. But Sen. Hennings pointed out that this still left many a trap and that "derogatory information" discovered after induction could still result in a less-than-honorable discharge:

> "This seems to me to be a violation of his constitutional rights. It destroys his reputation and interferes with his livelihood without due process of law."

**TWO MILLION:** Chairman Philip Young of the Civil Service Commission testified that he has a file of 2,000,000 dossiers on persons suspected of being "affiliated with some sort of subversive organization or activity" who might some day apply for a government job.. He reported that 3,685 persons have been fired from the government under the Eisenhower security program; but on Dec. 1 the counsel for a Senate Civil Service subcommittee reported that only 342 of this number had actually been fired for security reasons. The rest, he said, had been let go through "regular Civil Service or normal departmental procedures."

On the stand chairman Young was embarrassed and evasive when questioned closely about the concept of "security risk," finally said:

"Frankly, I don't know what the definition of a security risk is."

## The Docket

THE Civil Liberties Docket, published by the Natl. Lawyers Guild, is becoming an indispensable source of information on civil liberties cases throughout the country.

The Docket is issued five times a year, October to June, by the Guild's Committee on Constitutional Rights and Liberties, Osmond K. Fraenkel, chairman, Ann Fagan Ginger, editor. Subscription is $5 a year.

The Docket keeps subscribers informed of the up-to-the-minute status of legal proceedings in which constitutional liberties are involved The facts and issues are presented concisely, without editorial comment.

**THE BENDER'S OVER:** During the hearings Joe McCarthy seemed reluctant to believe that his long bender was done and that the party was over. Twice in a week he growled that the hearings were "disgraceful and dangerous," that they "pose a grave threat to the security of the U. S.," and that they "would open the floodgates to wholesale Communist infiltration of our government." But nobody paid him much mind.

The Washington **Post & Times Herald** took another view:

> "The hearings . . . have . . . given the American people a shocking view of the cynicism with which the gov-

Herblock in Washington Post

**"Grandma, I've been doing some wondering about you."**

> ernment security program has been operated and manipulated for partisan political purposes. They have exposed the self-defeating silliness of many of the state laws aimed at subversion. They have revealed a proliferation of dossiers on American citizens. . . . The subcommittee has given Americans a salutary chance to realize the extent to which their constitutional rights have been invaded in the name of national security."


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WAR & PEACE

# New Soviet moves underline changing balance of power

By Tabitha Petran

TWO EVENTS last month underscored the changing world balance of power. One was the "fervent welcome" (**N.Y. Times**, 12/1) given the U. S. S. R.'s two top leaders throughout India. The other was the explosion of a Soviet H-bomb which gave dramatic emphasis to a Russian plea for a world-wide ban on all such tests and an international outlawry of all such weapons.

The **Christian Science Monitor** (11/26) saw in the blast a proof of "the uselessness of an atomic stockpile as an instrument of diplomacy in the contest between East and West." But against these realities of life Western statesmen continued to apply what Paris' **Le Monde** called "stereotyped formulas in which, it is plain, they no longer believe."

Since the Geneva meeting last July the West, in the view of **NYT** (12/4), has suffered a "diplomatic Marne" as a result of such "aggressive" Soviet moves as offers to help industrialize under-developed countries and the current Asian goodwill tour of Soviet leaders. The more realistic **Le Monde**, however, pointed out that the easing of international tension since Geneva did not create—but had revealed—the "grand disarray" of western policy and the longtime absence of a western diplomacy.

**TEN SHAKING DAYS:** The impact of the U. S. S. R.'s new world position was only beginning to be felt in the West and had yet to be understood. Canada's Lester Pearson, one of the more able of western statesmen, told UN correspondents of his recent visit to the U.S.S.R.:

> "It was not ten days that shook the world, but it was ten days that shook Pearson."

What had obviously shaken him, it became clear, was, first, the supreme confidence of Soviet leaders in the **peaceful** triumph of their system, and secondly the "great power" of the Soviet Union.

Acknowledging that the Russian people "have a passion for peace," Pearson said his talks with Soviet leaders had convinced him "they want peace or—if you will—a peaceful interlude—because they have so much to do" and are so confident of victory in peaceful competition. Yet Pearson—beyond revealing that he was preparing an appraisal of German policy (in the light of his U. S. S. R. visit) for this month's meeting of NATO's Council, had nothing to offer in the way of a policy for the West other than to "guard our defenses" and to "strengthen NATO."

The unprecedented Asian tour of the U. S. S. R.'s Bulganin and Krushchev and its "tremendous impact . . . on the Indian masses" (**CSM**, 11/26) also appeared to shake western chancelleries. For this was a revelation of where the peoples of Asia believe their friends and the future lie, "a moment," wrote **CSM**, "before which historians of the future will pause for perspective comment."

**LOST SUPERIORITY:** The Soviet friendship tour of South Asia gave more definite outlines to an emerging U. S. S. R.-India-China grouping for peace—a huge complex of more than a billion people whose weight in world affairs is growing. At the same time the Soviet bomb test brought in its wake a renewed public sentiment in the West for a ban on such weapons. Britain's **Manchester Guardian** (11/26) suggested an end to test explosions pending the report of the newly created UN Committee on Radiation Effects. British Labor MP's, led by former Premier Attlee, introduced a motion to this effect in the House of Commons. But the U. S. and British governments recently beat down efforts of socialist and some Arab-Asian countries to

**LESTER PEARSON**
*He was a bit shaken up*

effect such a ban in the UN. They have yet to face and accept the fact that Western "atomic superiority" is a thing of the past, and that the "policy of strength" (the modern version of "might makes right") is meaningless when the strength is illusory.

So the West continues to talk to the socialist world as if from a lofty mountain peak of atomic superiority—as in the current UN Assembly debate on disarmament. There the Western states are determined to have the Assembly instruct the Disarmament sub-committee to "give priority" to inspection proposals like Eisenhower's "open skies" plan and Marshal Bulganin's plan for control posts at strategic centers; and to consider only such disarmament proposals as are "feasible." This means that Britain, Canada and France have joined the U. S. in withdrawing from agreements previously reached with the U. S. S. R. Actually, these agreements were so extensive, as was acknowledged in the West at the time, that they made disarmament a real possibility. Hence the shift in the Western stand.

**WHO DISARMS?** That the West is aware of the vulnerability of its anti-disarmament policy is apparent in the decision of a U. S. Senate subcommittee to study U. S. disarmament policies next year. U. S. failure to advance a specific disarmament plan, in the view of some Senators, "risks a propaganda loss in maintaining a position that may not be fully understood abroad," (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 12/15). In the UN the U. S. professes a passionate desire to disarm—in face of statements of numerous high government officials that it has no intention to do so. There Western spokesmen try to hide their embarrassment behind the kind of bitter anti-Soviet demagogy so common before Geneva.

Britain's Nutting, for example, sneered at Soviet withdrawal from its sole foreign bases—in Finland and Manchuria—crying: "Look at the 22 Soviet divisions in E. Germany." U. S. S. R.'s Kuznetsov pointed out in reply that Moscow has repeatedly proposed withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany, a proposal the West has, as often, rejected. France's Jules Moch then demanded: "What about Soviet troops in E. Europe?" Again Kuznetsov quietly reminded the Assembly that the U. S. S. R. has proposed withdrawal of all foreign troops and bases from both E. and W. Europe, a proposal studiously ignored by the West.

In the current disarmament debate, the U. S. S. R. is attempting to get the Western powers to reaffirm agreements reached last spring as the first step to getting on with the practical job of reducing armies and armaments. But no progress on the question is expected at this session.

**NO LIMITS:** Western public opinion has been misled not only by the outright distortions of the Soviet and Western positions, but also by soothing propaganda about "limited" and "tactical" nuclear war. The U. S. and NATO have geared their entire military establishments to nuclear war, "limited and tactical" nuclear war, it is said. But the **NYT**'s Hanson Baldwin (12/5) concluded that the main lesson of Exercise Sage Brush

> ". . . is that there probably can be no such thing as a limited or tactical nuclear war . . . the almost frightening experience of the joint Air Force-Army maneuver that ends this week indicates that even a so-called tactical nuclear war would cause vast devastation. It probably could not be limited, at least in any heavily populated or industrialized areas."

But if UN is blocked for the time being on the question of disarmament, there remained during the session's closing week a possibility that the crucial issue of admission of new members may be solved. Progress towards solution of this question is itself a reflection of the changing world power balance. No new countries have been admitted since 1950 when Indonesia's admission brought total membership to 60. In 1949 and twice in 1952 the West rejected Soviet-proposed "package deals" for simultaneous admission of countries backed by the West and the U. S. S. R. Since 1953 an Assembly Good Offices Committee has been trying to work with Security Council members to facilitate admissions.

This year the 10th anniversary celebration in San Francisco saw mounting pressure for universality of UN membership. At the 10th session this fall awareness has grown that UN is sooner or later doomed if it cannot more nearly represent the world as it is. But universality would mean an appreciable weakening of U. S. control of UN; hence the U. S. has opposed it and attempted to stall. Spain's application in September was interpreted as a U. S.-inspired move to kill the "package deal" then in the works. The U. S. S. R., it was believed, would never consent to Spain's admission. But, although Soviet spokesmen admitted "it was not easy for us," the U. S. S. R. consented to both Spain and Japan's inclusion in the deal. Inclusion of Spain rallied Latin American support and soon an overwhelming majority lined up behind the Canadian-sponsored plan for simultaneous admission of 18 applicant states.

**WANING PRESTIGE:** At this point, U. S. delegate Lodge indicated the U. S. would exert pressure to bar the Mongolian People's Republic, a decision which was reversed, however, apparently by the President himself. Then came the announcement of Chiang Kai-shek's delegate that he would veto Mongolia's admission. Few believed this threat would have been made without tacit U. S. approval. If carried out, it would at least postpone the admission of new members till another year. Such a postponement is greatly desired by Washington which is trying to stall all policy issues till after the 1956 elections. At the same time, it drew the wrath of much of the world down on the Chiang "government," preparing the ground for ouster of this delegation which everyone including Washington knows is inevitable.

If the veto threat is carried out, there can be no question, as **NYT** reported (12/5), that China "will be seated in the UN as fast as its various organs can meet and take a vote." Latin American delegations, which have hitherto supported U. S. efforts to prevent ouster of the Chiang Kai-shek group, were even talking of calling a special session after Christmas to effect the ouster. This talk was designed as pressure on the Chiang delegates and was expected to be effective. It was the position of the U. S. which remained crucial to a solution. Whether or not the 18 are admitted, however, U. S. tactics on this question have greatly undermined its prestige at UN. The whole affair, wrote Walter Lippmann (11/29),

> ". . . is a horrible example of how to lose face, of how to lose influence, of how to make this country look foolish . . . this is a truly dismal performance."

# Walter-McCarran Act hearings held

*(Continued from Page 1)*

"those who have both the need and the desire" to live in America:

> "Regarded as an affront to the entire world by leaders of every major religious group, this formula disregards one of the fundamental propositions upon which this nation is founded—all men are created equal."

Sen. Kennedy pointed out that from 1900 to 1910 more than 200,000 Italians came here annually; under the McCarran Act the number is reduced to less than 6,000. In the earlier period 16,000 Greeks came every year; now only 308 are allowed in.

**PARAGON NO LONGER:** Rabbi Zev Zahavy of New York said in a recent sermon:

> "Before McCarran and Walter concieved their diabolical scheme to seal the gates of freedom, America was the paragon of humanity the world over."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, also a New York rabbi, has said:

> "This system brands the stamp of inferiority upon some of our best American citizens who originate from countries which the Immigration Act inferentially condemns as inferior. It makes offensive distinctions between nations and races which are contrary to the spirit of religion."

Catholics and Protestants are just as harsh in their criticism.

Under the present quota system, only 154,657 immigrants are admitted each year. Many countries do not use up their quotas, but these cannot be reassigned to other countries. In 1954 there were 90,190 immigrants from all of Europe, and 69,267 of these were from northern and western countries.

**250,000 A YEAR:** Most proponents of a liberalized immigration policy would peg the total quota on the census of 1950, which would raise the figure to about 250,000 annually, and would abolish the rigid, fixed allotments for each country.

Also under general attack are other provisions of the law which make the Immigration Dept. the government's biggest haven for professional informers and which make it easy to denaturalize and deport for political reasons. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), a member of the subcommittee, on Nov. 30 denounced the use of "ominously secret, undisclosed informers . . . and their unverified allegations" and condemned the "supreme power" given to U. S. consular officers abroad who can deny visas with no review by higher authority.

**EASTLAND'S FOR IT:** Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), currently one of the busiest of Congressional inquisitors, is for the bill and says any change in it "would flood the U. S. with criminals and Communist agents." An American Legion spokesman said his organization will "fight to the finish" against any efforts to "weaken" the law. The American Coalition, a conglomeration of "patriotic" societies, is campaigning to preserve "this vital bulwark to our internal security."

To all supporters of the law, opposition to it is part of an insidious subversive plot engineered by communists. American Coalition in an expensive mailing last month said the Kilgore hearings "are being used as a sounding board for Left Wing attacks on our immigration system" for the purpose of "opening the flood gates to untold numbers irrespective of assimilability or desirability."

AN EDITORIAL STAMEMENT ON THE CHINA DAILY NEWS

# An American editor goes to jail—must his newspaper perish?

ON DEC. 16 an American editor, Eugene Moy, will enter prison to begin serving a one-year sentence. The charge against him is that his paper, the **China Daily News**, published two advertisements from Hong Kong banks offering to help overseas Chinese send money to their families in China.

He was prosecuted under the Trading With The Enemy Act. The Court thought it irrelevant that we were not at war, that China was not an enemy.

The trial made it plain that another "crime" was involved. The **China Daily News** is the only Chinese-language paper published in the Western Hemisphere which supports China against Chiang Kai-shek. Pleading for the stiffest possible sentence the U.S. attorney said that:

". . . it appears from editorial and from the so-called news articles [in the **China Daily News**] that they were using all of their efforts against the efforts of this country during a time of national crisis."

The prosecution came after other efforts had failed: assaults on newsdealers who carried the paper, intimidation of subscribers, boycotts of advertisers.

It was plain that the prime objective was not so much to put Moy behind bars but to stifle a newspaper. Moy's sentence was reduced from two years to one, but a crippling $25,000 fine against the paper was let stand.

If those who know the value of a free press sit by, the subscribers to the **China Daily News** may be unable to bear the burden. But if we mean what we say when we speak of battling for a press press, for the rights of the GUARDIAN and all papers to publish freely, then we can frustrate the plot against the **China Daily News.** Eugene Moy is being forced to give one year in prison for his paper. It is up to us all to give our dollars so that the **China Daily News** will continue to publish and each day serve notice that the people will not let a newspaper be bled to death because its editorials are not approved in Washington.

**Contributions may be sent to Friends of Eugene Moy, c/o Ida Pruitt, 103 W. 93rd St., N. Y. C.**

## AFL-CIO merger

*(Continued from Page 1)*

critical, stood squarely for the merger. In the end only the TWU and the CIO councils in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and Springfield, Ill., voted against the merger, which passed by a vote of 5,712,077 to 120,002. (The balloting is based on self-estimated membership figures of the unions—which do not tally with the actual reckoning by dues payments—giving the CIO a total strength of less than 5 million.)

**THE HOLD OUT:** Quill said he would spend the merger week away from the armory considering with his union's executive whether or not to stay in the new federation. On the TV show, **Meet the Press**, Dec. 4, Quill declined to say what he would recommend to his executive, but said the "cease fire" in the labor movement had given way to a "cold war"; and now with the merger "the civil war has started."

Whether or not the TWU stays in the federation, Quill's rebellion cost him a vice-presidency. To rub it in, the AFL was due to name the head of a rival transport union to the vice-presidency, Abel L. Sprading of the Amalgamated Assn. of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes. Inside or out, Quill's union faces raids by Sprading's union and by the powerful AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters which aspires to organize every one who works on wheels.

Ironically, Quill's defeat paved the way for a small gain against the racism he fought. In his place on the roll of vice-presidents the CIO named Willard S. Townsend, Negro president of the United Transport Service Workers. The AFL, feeling obliged to match the CIO, nominated A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters, thereby assuring the council of two Negro vice-presidents.

**BECK'S WAY:** In the AFL's pre-merger convention at the Hotel Statler the delegates were roused from dreary oratory by the behavior of Dave Beck, president of the 1,200,000-member Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters. While approving all the merger moves, the Teamsters showed every sign of going their own way. They signed mutual assistance pacts with two unions in the AFL-CIO doghouse: the Intl. Assn. of Longshoremen and the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

**FRIEND OR FOE?** The ILA has successfully beat back efforts by the AFL and the full force of government to break it up in the name of racket busting. Mine-Mill, one of the progressive unions ousted by the CIO, has won notable victories while struggling against the same forces. The published terms of the pacts provide machinery for ironing out jurisdictional disputes; joint negotiations with employers under some circumstances, joint political lobbying and, in the case of Mine-Mill, the transfer of some truck drivers to the Teamster rolls. Other aspects of the agreement remain to be worked out. It was too early to tell whether Mine-Mill and the ILA had found an ally or were about to be consumed by a union whose leaders are known for their appetites and their flexible scruples.

HE'S GOT THE SIGNS . . . NOW ALL HE HAS TO DO IS TAKE THE HYPHEN OUT OF THE AFL-CIO

The Teamsters' steps were taken calmly by AFL leaders but seemed to throw CIO men into a panic. Reuther and others denounced the moves as promoting too much unity by admitting into the federation unions they had blacklisted. Worrying them still more were Teamster threats to join with ex-CIO unions in the new federation's Industrial Union Dept. Walter Reuther acted as if he had walked into an ambush. The Teamsters, possibly joined by the Machinists, newly converted to industrial unionism, and the Steelworkers, could undercut Reuther's leadership in his own department. Reuther met the challenge by attacking "reds and crooks." Serenely Dave Beck went his way, gracefully received toasts at a banquet in his honor; he took in his stride a fulsome tribute from Mayor Wagner.

**THE ONLOOKERS:** On hand as observers at the merger convention were representatives of the Brotherhoods of Railroad Trainmen and of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, independent unions with traditions of craft-unionism and rigid jimcrow. Their presence and imminent bid for membership brought to a focus one of the few issues to be fought out on the convention floor: racism. At both CIO and AFL conventions members of the Negro Trade Unionists Committee passed out leaflets urging delegates to back a program calling for "non-segregated membership rights" for Negro and other minorities; Negro representation on the executive board; an organizing campaign in the South "on the basis of democracy and equality for all; a strong Fair Employment Practices Committee; an ultimatum to jimcrow unions to change their policies within a set time limit or face expulsion.

Neither the AFL or CIO passed—or even discussed—any such resolution at their conventions, but the lobbying for Negro rights was a symptom of rank-and-file dissatisfaction.

The foot-work and conniving took the spotlight away from the merger's larger significance. While some observers sincerely hailed labor's unity, George Meany drew an ominous picture of where he intended to lead this unified movement. In the N.Y. **Times Magazine** of Dec. 4 Meany set down his principles:

"The interests of labor and management are interdependent, rather than inimical. . . . Free labor and free enterprise can exist only under a free system of government. Their real enemy—their common enemy—is totalitarianism. . . . The totalitarian threat of our day is communism. . . . The unalterable opposition of the American labor movement to communism provides basic security for American business. . . . The vast majority of labor-management disputes can be settled amicably . . . provided that a live-and-let-live agreement can be reached at a national level by top labor and business organizations."

**STRANGE CHORUS:** Turning to foreign affairs Meany wrote that "the united labor movement intends, in the years ahead, to expand its already far-flung program to halt the spread of communism." He pointed to "communist-controlled" unions in France, Italy and South America and declared:

"We are confident that with our help these subversive organizations can be supplanted by free trade unions."

In a telephone talk to the convention on its opening day President Eisenhower hailed the U.S. labor movement for refuting Marx and made a cautious bid for GOP votes. Secy. of Labor Mitchell seconded the motion. Averell Harriman and Adlai Stevenson were scheduled to come to bat later in the week. Though some on the right, like Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Presidential asst. Harold E. Stassen, indicated political fright at the merger, many ordinarily anti-labor papers and politicians hailed it with hosannahs. This made a curious, discordant chorus with labor men and women who hoped for genuine unity.

"I VOTE MY CONSCIENCE"

## Marcantonio volume out soon

IN CONJUNCTION with the 53rd birthday anniversary of the late Vito Marcantonio, Dec. 10, publication was announced for early January of **I Vote My Conscience,** a 448-page selection of the speeches, writings and debates of the late congressman during his 14 years in Congress.

The book contains 32 pages of pictures and an appendix covering four of his most famous legal battles, the defense of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois as chairman of the Peace Information Center; fur union leader Ben Gold against Taft-Hartley indictment; civil rights leader William L. Patterson for contempt of Congress; and the Communist Party against the Subversive Activities Control Board, a case now before the U.S. Supreme Court. Editing and compilation was done by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein and others.

Advance orders for personal copies and gift certificates may be sent now to Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 247 East 116th St., New York 29, N.Y. The regular edition is $5; a special boxed and numbered Memorial Edition is available at $25, for the support of the Memorial objectives.

EXCLUSIVE SERIES BY ISRAEL EPSTEIN

# Tibet today: The Revolution reaches 1,000 years back

*Following is the first of a series of articles on Tibet — and the meaning of the Chinese Revolution — by Israel Epstein, author of "The Unfinished Revolution in China." Epstein, who spent much of his life in China, and is now working and living in Peking, made the trip through Tibet with correspondents from seven countries: Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and the Soviet Union. These articles are appearing exclusively in the U.S in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.*

**By Israel Epstein**
**Special to the GUARDIAN**

LHASA, TIBET

FROM THE WINDOW of the room where I write, in the bright sunshine under the snow peaks, I can see the prodigious 13-story red-and-white Potala with its golden roofs. It is one of the greatest creations of religious-feudal architecture anywhere. It took 50 years to complete and was the culminating achievement of the old civilization of the living historical museum of Tibet, where one can observe social forms and customs that were old-fashioned in Europe a thousand years ago. In this palace lives the Dalai Lama, the last surviving God-King on earth.

Yet to get here our party of foreign correspondents from eight countries, the first ever to come by highway, drove 1,400 miles over a road that is one of the world's marvels of modern highway engineering. This road, the Sikang-Tibet highway, was put through by the liberated Chinese people in three short years; it is a small part of the outburst of constructive energy with which they are building their rejuvenated land. It is bringing new things and new ideas to this remotest part of the Chinese People's Republic, a process full of drama but with no hint of "Shangri-La" mystery. And the Dalai Lama, the ruler the Tibetans regard as divine, is a member of New China's highest legislature.

**OPENING OF THE WEST:** Like the U. S. with its pioneers and transcontinental railroad in the last century, China is opening her West—an area similarly boundless and rich, with a population that is sparse because its ways of production and living belong virtually to pre-history. But in America the transforming force was capitalism. Its method was to slay the Indians and their buffalo herds, driving the poor remnants of the tribes to places where they could neither support themselves nor develop, neither carry on their customary mode of life nor find opportunities to replace it with something better.

In China the advancing future is socialist. So the hardy clansmen of the high Tibetan grasslands with their multitudes of yaks, sheep and horses, who so resemble the Navajos of the U. S. Southwest, are getting a different deal. They are not being destroyed, driven away or euchred out of their pastures by "treaties." Nor are they being cheated into ruin by traders.

Instead, the road has brought them free medical and veterinary services and free schools in their own language (Chinese is an optional subject). It has brought them interest-free loans, better prices for their wool and other products which are bought by the state trading outposts, and cheap manufactured goods from the same source. Best of all, they now know for certain that life will constantly become richer and fuller.

**100 YAKS ON A TRUCK:** The Tibetan peasants who scratch the earth in the high valleys, and look and live in their adobe houses like the Pueblos and Hopi, all get the same services, plus free farm tools (several hundred thousand have been distributed in one area alone) and seeds. Tibetan merchants who are relatively few but active, are happier too. They get low-interest loans and, instead of toiling by caravan from their commercial center of Chamdo for a whole month westward to Lhasa or eastward to Kangting, they can now hire a truck from the state transport administration—a truck that carries as many as 100 yaks or mules, and makes either destination in an easy five days. The highway has its boons for even the lama monks (who form a large part of the male population) and the pious laity. By it they can and do make their pilgrimages to the Buddhist holy places, which insure them a better next life as they believe, much more cheaply and quickly.

**THE SOCIAL QUESTION:** What about the nobles and tribal chiefs in their hilltop castles, and the Living Buddhas and high abbots in their cathedral lamaseries? Their Tibetan Local Government at Lhasa, on all internal matters in "Tibet Proper," functions much as it did before. They also have positions on the administrations of various Tibetan-inhabited regions which have gained autonomy inside Chinese provinces (Czechuan, Yunnan, Chinghai, Kansu) or have replaced the provinces altogether as in Sikang province, which has been abolished.

Religion and the clergy receive the fullest respect from the Central People's Government. Lay aristocrats too enjoy honor, and will do so as long as the Tibetans themselves accord them their present status; because the policy is that no minority nationality will have its institutions destroyed from outside. The Chinese constitution guarantees to each, along with help in the course of the all-national economic development, the the right to preserve or reform its customs as the majority of that particular people sees fit.

**THE DALAI LAMA SPEAKS:** It must be remembered that, whatever their local privileges, the upper classes too were "second class people" in the past, when high and low suffered national oppression and discrimination. Now that all Tibetans feel respected and equal, patriotism for the entire multi-national country is becoming a real force.

"Many things which we could not make before, now we can manufacture for ouselves," the young Dalai Lama told us foreign correspondents with evident enthusiasm, referring to his recent visits to the big new socialist industries in Northeast China. "I have come to the firm conviction that the brilliant prospects for the people of the whole of China are also the prospects for the Tibetan people."

That their pontiff and ruler speaks in this way, with his tremendous personal religious prestige, is both a result and accelerator of the Tibetans' welcome to new things. Young people from the aristocracy, the only literate class in the past, now jump at the opportunity of general and professional studies with free tuition, board, for study and travel, in the Institutes of National Minorities in Peking, Chengtu and other Chinese cities. There they sit side by side with the sons and daughters of peasants and herdsmen in an environment where the working class is recognized as the creator and leader of all progress.

A SENSE OF THE LIMITLESS resources and future of the entire socialist world, and of confidence and security in Tibet's participation in its benefits, is also growing. Soviet and Czech-made trucks carry much of Tibet's commerce. X-ray machinery from the German Democratic Republic helps diagnose the Tibetan's illnesses in the fine new People's Hospitals, which have modified the skylines of the region's cities—formerly dominated by castle and cathedral in the classic feudal pattern. Tractors and combine-harvesters from the Soviet Union and Hungary, on experimental farms once-waste land, fire the imagination by showing, in Tibet itself, how crops can be increased and arduous labor saved.

The new social services, all Chinese civil and military personnel, the new education and pilot-plants in industry and agriculture, the highway itself, have all been financed fully by the central authorities in Peking. None of their cost comes from local tax-revenues or resources, and this in itself is an object lesson in the socialist relation between peoples at different levels of development.

**FAIRY TALE COMES TRUE:** Their whole present experience is like a hard-to-believe fairy tale to all Tibetans, who have not forgotten their constant humiliations under the old Chinese imperial and Kuomintang regimes, or the bloody inroads of imperialism at the time of the British "Younghusband Expedition" of 1904. In fact, they thought at first that there must be a catch in it somewhere, but in four years they have not found one. So now no idea arouses so much aversion among them as that of being used as a military base in some hopeless, externally-inspired attempt to turn back the clock of the Chinese revolution.

This feeling, and the Buddhist horror at any mass taking of life, accounted for the truly overwhelming response of all classes—the clergy prominent among them—to the recent World Peace Council signature campaign for the destruction and abolition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The steel-strong reforging, on a new basis, of the ancient link with China is the decisive thing for Tibet's social progress as well. It makes certain that the goal of this progress, as with all the rest of the country, will be socialism. As for the pace, it will of course be slower and the steps somewhat different.

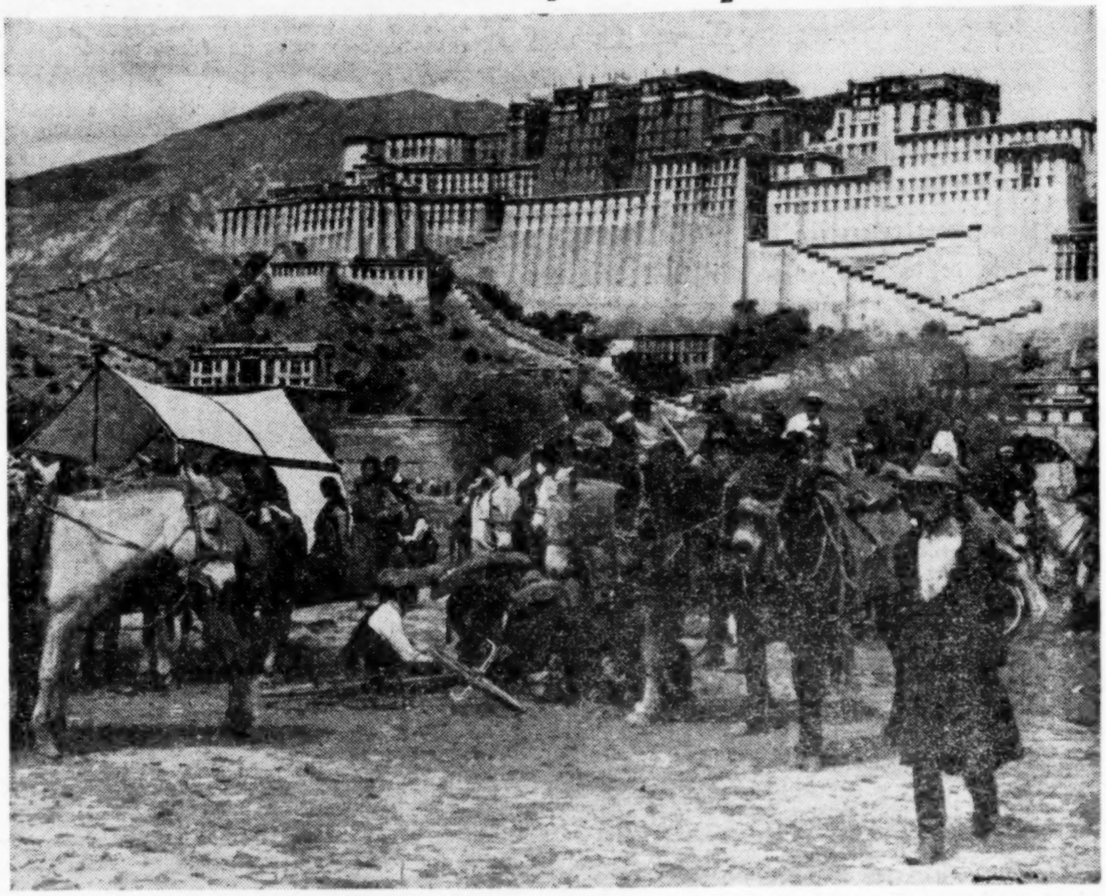
**"BUDDHAS OF SELFLESSNESS":** I have not mentioned, so far, the constructive activity of the People's Liberation Army. It was mainly responsible, especially in the early stages, for building the fabulous road—which runs over the great plateau with its floor at 10,000 feet above sea level, snakes over 14 mountain ranges at heights up to 17,000 feet, and spans the deep canyons of some of the world's biggest rivers: the Golden Sand (upper Yangtze), Langtsang (upper Mekong), Nu (upper Salween) and Yalutsangpo (Brahmaputra).

It initiated all the social services which were handed over to civilian administration when the highway was completed.

When not busy with other things, the soldiers have helped the peasants with their crops and dug wide-ranging irrigation systems watering field and pasture. In natural calamities, such as the earthquake in Kangting and the serious flash-floods in Gyangtse and Shigatse last year, they risked their lives to save the people and their property—and contributed money, food, clothing, bedding and tents to help the sufferers pending the arrival of government relief.

**THE STORY OF HWA CHENG-HO:** The spirit of this socialist force was brought home to me by the 28-year-old soldier-roadbuilder, Hwa Cheng-ho, whom I met in the new lumber town of Dzamu, in

(Continued on Page 7)



Photos by Israel Epstein

THE WORLD FAMOUS POTALA, PALACE OF THE DALAI LAMA, AT LHASA

WHY THE CROWDS TURNED OUT

# The Russian tour of Asia puts competitive co-existence in action

By Kumar Goshal

GREETED by the tumultuous applause of crowds sometimes reaching into the millions, Soviet Premier Bulganin and Communist Party chief Khrushchev have been traveling through India and Burma on a goodwill mission since Nov. 19. Their official and popular reception, reflected in the slogans "Hindi Russi Bhai Bhai" (Indians and Russians are brothers) and "Long Live Burmese-Soviet Friendship," has been unprecedented in warmth in these two countries recently freed from colonialism.

The dignified Bulganin and the ebullient Khrushchev have been frank and outspoken, informal and friendly with farmers and workers as they visited agricultural and industrial projects. Speaking to a gathering of 300,000 Indians, Bulganin declared that "all necessary conditions" had been created for expanded Indo-Soviet trade and cooperation. He said:

> "We are prepared to share our experiences in the construction of industrial enterprises, electric power stations, hydro-projects and the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes."

**SICKLE IN HAND:** At a rice breeding center in Poona Khrushchev borrowed a farmer's sickle, then demonstrated Russian winnowing methods. At India's vast Bhakra-Nangal hydroelectric project the Soviet leaders told the American supervisor Harvey Slocum that U.S. engineers were helpful in the Soviet Union's early days, and that they would like to foster an exchange of Soviet and American engineers.

Bulganin and Khrushchev reiterated Moscow's anti-colonial stand and its desire for peaceful, competitive co-existence, as charted at the Bandung conference. They said the Western powers were blocking disarmament to maintain profits by making arms, and to prevent Moscow from diverting its military spending to aiding underdeveloped countries. The Soviet leaders pointed to the creation of METO (Middle East Treaty Organization) "near the borders of India and the Soviet Union," as a threat to peace.

**WESTERN CONSTERNATION:** The Soviet leaders' reception alarmed the American press. An editorial in the **N. Y. Times** (11/21), for example, found it "baffling and alarming"; declared that "prospective victims of Communist violence" (like the Indians) "should not be lulled into a false sense of security" by Moscow's lies about peace; called Washington's military pacts "part of planning to make" the "free world's" strength more effective; wondered how intelligent Indians could believe that "Soviet promises" of economic aid were better than the West's "actual performance."

Apprised of Western reaction Indian Premier Nehru said:

> "The great welcome that our guests have had in India has alarmed some of our friends in other countries who cannot help thinking in terms of rival camps and military alliances. . . .
>
> It is strange that while one side is speaking of peace, other countries are thinking in terms of war and military alliances. We are convinced that it is not by military pacts and alliances and by lining up armaments that world peace and security can be attained.
>
> India is in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we would like to be in is the camp of peace and good will, which should include as many countries as possible and be opposed to none."

**PEACE IS THE WORD:** Indian and Burmese leaders seemed convinced of Moscow's sincere desire for peace. In his welcoming address India's Vice President, the famous philosopher Dr. Radhakrishnan, stressed that point. In Mysore, Chief Minister K. Hanumanthaiya extolled the U.S.S.R. for helping "to loosen the grip of imperialism and capitalism all over the world." India's ruling Congress party leader C. Rajagopalachari praised the Soviet leaders' willingness to ban the atom bomb, condemned the West for not agreeing to do so. In Burma, Premier U Nu told his Soviet guests:

> "The world's tensions have been greatly relieved by your efforts toward peace."

On the basis of recent events, Asians could not accept the **Times'** reason for U.S.-sponsored military pacts. They could find nothing but colonialism in the West's "actual performance," while they found not only economic "promises" but deeds by the Soviet Union.

**ASIA WATCHES:** Asians have noted, for example, that France has used U.S. arms under NATO to fight liberation movements in Indo-China and N. Africa. They have noted the U.S. opposing in the UN plans for balanced industrial developments in underdeveloped countries while lavishing military assistance to bolster outdated regimes in Thailand, S. Vietnam, S. Korea and Formosa. As Edgar Snow said (**The Nation**, 10/29) the U.S. has

> ". . . already spent billions of dollars in support of reactionary regimes—in ways unprecedented in American history—which have 'on the whole lengthened the life of colonialism,' as Alan Paton recently admitted to be the case in Africa."

Nehru told columnist Marquis Childs (12/2) that the Arab people in METO countries may feel that U.S. arms supplied to their reactionary rulers "are meant to subdue them."

**THE NEW POWER:** Asians have also noted that

> ". . . the Soviets are definitely stepping up their economic and technical assistance program in the Middle East and south Asia. The trend is up—not down. As for the U.S., the reverse is true" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 11/22).

They agree with **Times** correspondent Dana Schmidt (11/29) that Moscow is "relying not so much on military threats . . . as on straightforward [economic] competition" in underdeveloped countries; and they are convinced

> ". . . that U.S. power has largely replaced British power as the instrument of Western foreign domination [and] that the U.S. is the great new colonial power whose foreign aid programs are designed to reinforce this role."

Asians found verification of U.S.' new role when on Dec. 2 Secy. Dulles signed a joint communique with visiting Portuguese Foreign Minister Paulo Cunha, supporting Portugal's right to hold its Indian colonies. This brought swift protest from "furious" Indian government officials and even shocked the U.S. ambassador at New Delhi (**NYT**, 12/5). The Soviet leaders in India received thunderous applause when they denounced Portugal's determination to hold the colonies.

**HISTORY WITH THEM:** With a sense of history, Nehru welcomed Bulganin and Khrushchev—who had flown over the hitherto impassable Himalayan mountains into India—with these words:

> "[These mountains] do not act as barriers any longer. We would like them to serve as a cementing factor between India, China and the Soviet Union."

And, despite Western antagonism, Bulganin and Khrushchev went on traveling with

> ". . . not only a knowledge that they were making history but also a cheerful confidence that history is [with] them" (**CSM**, 11/26).

**LEAVE IT TO FOSTER TO PUT HIS FOOT IN HIS MOUTH**

*As millions in India cheered Soviet Premier Bulganin's support of India's claim to Portuguese Goa, our Secy. of State met with Portuguese Foreign Minister Cunha to back Portugal's right to be a colonial power.*

## Belfrage award

LATE LAST MONTH the GUARDIAN received the following letter from Jaroslav Knobloch, secy. of the Intl. Organization of Journalists, with headquarters in Prague:

> "The Presidium of the IOJ, at its meeting held in Sofia on Oct. 9, voted to extend to Mr. Cedric Belfrage the sum of $500 from the Intl. Solidarity Fund, which was established for the purpose of assisting those newspapermen who are persecuted for their honestly informing public opinion. This aid was given him for his admirable and honorable stand which led to his deportation from the U.S.A."

Belfrage cabled the GUARDIAN on hearing the news:

> "Considering this an honor paid to the paper itself, my wife and I want to donate the $500 to the GUARDIAN fund."

## No comment

At one point a Senator asked Bulganin and Khrushchev why the Russians were opposed to the U.S. having bases abroad.

"How would you like it if we built a base down in Cuba?" was Khrushchev's quick rejoinder.

"We'd bomb hell out of you," replied Sen. Malone of Nevada.

—Drew Pearson's column

# This is Tibet today

*(Continued from Page 6)*

the depths of the great Pomi virgin forest (Tibet is not at all as bare as some authors have described it).

Hwa, who despite his youth had fought all through the Liberation War of 1946-49 in many parts of China, had marched to Tibet on foot in 1950 over the whole 1,400 miles of fantastically difficult country which the road now permits to be covered at ease by car. He had trudged, often waist-deep in snow, with 100 pounds of equipment and food on his back, since the army then had no other transport. He said simply:

> "I myself was a poor peasant and when I saw how the Tibetan peasants lived, with what primitive tools they farm, I knew that a happy life could not come to these people on yak-back. That's why we didn't mind the hardships of building this highway."

And then he added, as if it was a reward for everything:

> "When the Tibetan workers first came on the job, they used to say, 'We are helping the army with its highway.' But in the end they were saying, 'The army has built this road for us.'"

**THE CORRESPONDENTS' JEEP IN LHASA**

*Until the highway came through last year, there was no wheeled traffic in Lhasa, not even carts or wheelbarrows. Now there is a jam of cars, trucks, motorbikes and bicycles.*

**SHADES OF MARK TWAIN:** No wonder the Tibetan people call the People's Liberation Army men "Buddhas of Selflessness." How untroubled by conscience would the historic memories of America's nation-building be if Daniel Boone and Fremont, Gen. Custer and Buffalo Bill Cody, had earned such titles from the Indians—and helped bring them as equals into the full current of U.S. life.

On this trip, my mind often wandered to a favorite book, Mark Twain's **A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.** Tibetan realities, in many ways, made this fantasy sharp and real. But try as he might, Twain's hero had to confess himself licked at last. Even the good things he created with his passionate democratic sense and endless energy began to turn into a caricature of the contemporary America of the capitalist Robber Barons; and finally all was swept away by resurgent reaction. The author, in his day, could honestly see no other prospect. So he had to return the Yankee, and ancient Britain, to their deep sleep.

The Chinese people are building better and more soundly. The forces of progress are not isolated; nor are they before their time. We're here to see it. Sam Clemens would have been right proud.

DR. HOWARD'S WARNING

# Mississippi NAACP leader again asks Brownell to act

By Eugene Gordon

FROM HIS GUARDED HOME in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard last week sent Atty. Gen. Brownell a second telegram. The first, sent while Dr. Howard was in New York last October, urged a meeting with Brownell, Vice President Nixon and Presidential assistant Sherman Adams

"... at the earliest possible date ... to formulate plans to deal with the dastardly dangerous situation confronting every Negro in Mississippi today. ... A delegation of Negro leaders from my state and over the nation stands ready to join me in this conference with you."

Brownell didn't answer.

Dr. Howard heads Mound Bayou's NAACP and has his own hospital there. He is president-elect of the (Negro) Natl. Medical Assn. and president of Mississippi's Regional Council of Negro Leadership. With the help of Negro reporters, he rounded up witnesses for the prosecution in the Till murder trial.

**A MILLION AMERICANS:** Last week's wire to Brownell said:

"Another defenseless Negro, whose only crime was wanting to be a first-class citizen, Gus Courts, was shot Friday, Nov. 25. Are you going to sit there and see us all killed one by one and not use the power of your office to do one thing? I beg of you to act before it is too late. I am asking one million red-blooded Americans to join me in a march on Washington in protest to deaf ears shown to violence in Mississippi.

Courts was shot in his Belzoni, Miss., grocery store and rushed by friends 80 miles to Mound Bayou. Negro surgeons operated. The FBI announced immediately that it was making a "preliminary investigation." Courts, 65, resting on his hospital bed, told a Chicago **Defender** reporter the White Citizens Councils had "been at me for some time to stop my work with the NAACP." He named a white man suspect to the reporter and said he would like to tell the **FBI**, too.

FBI agent C. E. Piper, chief of the two-man investigating team, informed the N. Y. **Post** (12/1) after one day's sleuthing: "We made preliminary inquiries on Sunday and then we quit." Courts told the **Post** he had important "new information" for the FBI; but when it said it had quit it meant it had quit. Dr. J. R. Henry, chief surgeon at the hospital, said the FBI men who queried him briefly about the case were obviously "natives" with no liking for their assignment.

**MANY DEFEATS:** Court's store is a few doors from one owned by the Rev. George W. Lee when he was shot to death from ambush last May. Courts took over Lee's NAACP responsibilities, "and then the pressure started" because he would not take his name off the voters' registration list. They "froze" his credit and, for a while, he couldn't buy anything. He was threatened even before Rev. Lee was killed and again before the recent primary.

Until the economic squeeze was put on, the Belzoni NAACP had 300 members; only about eight are still active. The Rev. Lee was the first Negro to register in Humphrey County, where Belzoni is situated, since Reconstruction. Courts was the second. Humphrey County sheriff Issac Shelton told the N. Y. **Amsterdam News** by phone that "the NAPS" (members of the NAACP) are really the "guilty parties." They "interfered" with the investigation by rushing the wounded man to Mound Bayou. The **Defender** quoted Courts:

"I refused to go to the Humphrey County hospital. I was afraid they might finish what had been started."

**EXPORT BILL:** Miss. State Rep.-elect Upton Sisson told a civic luncheon club in Jackson that he was introducing a "Negro export" bill when the legislature meets in January. It would permit the state to give $1,000 for transporting each Negro "who wished to leave Mississippi because of 'mistreatment.'"

While Dr. Howard awaited word from the Dept. of Justice, his wife Helen, visiting in New York, told friends she feared he would be killed. She said he insisted that he would fulfill speaking engagements throughout the nation.

**Neville Lake, who designed this Christmas card, says it is "solemnly dedicated to the memory of Reverend George Washington Lee, Lamarr Smith, and Emmett Louis Till; murdered in the state of Mississippi this year, in an organizezd effort to continue the denial of full equality to our Negro citizenry. It is with the fervent hope that Merry Christmas and Happy Years be extended promptly to include the millions of Negro People, now living in terror behind America's cotton curtain."**

## Christmas in the Delta

TEN THOUSAND Negro children in the Mississippi delta, their families pauperized by White Citizens' Councils, will have "absolutely no Christmas" except through response to this appeal issued by Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership (see story, this page).

The GUARDIAN recently (10/7) devoted a full page to excerpts of Dr. Howard's Baltimore address exposing the activities of the White Citizens' Councils against the Negro population throughout the South to nullify the Supreme Court decision ending jimcrow in the nation's schools.

Contributions may be sent to GIFTS FOR DELTA CHILDREN, c/o Dr. T. R. Howard, Regional Council of Negro Leadership, P. O. Box 321, Mound Bayou, Miss.

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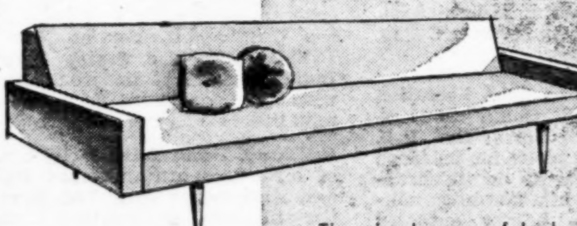

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MISSING SINCE 1951

# 3 Smith Act refugees give selves up; new trial Feb. 27

FRED M. FINE and James E. Jackson Jr., sought since they were indicted under the Smith Act in 1951, voluntarily surrendered at the Federal Court House in New York last week. Both were held in $20,000 bail for hearing on Dec. 5. William Norman, indicted at the same time, surrendered later in Newark, N. J., and also was held in $20,000.

Fine said he believed his surrender would "further serve the popular fight to restore the Bill of Rights" and that the sooner he was reunited with his family, "the better off will be the democratic liberties of every citizen." His statement said that extreme reaction is still a serious threat, but that "the immediate danger of fascism" has receded and it is "time for every American to do what he can" to regain and extend "our democratic freedoms":

"In my view, the American people are sick and tired of red-hunts, witch-hunts and a system of thought-control that requires frameups and heresy trials. And they are fed up with the official war alarms that breed war hysteria and repression. True patriots know that the acid test of the Bill of Rights is how it applies to political dissenters and that the rights of all Americans are bound up with the rights of each."

Jackson, in a public statement, said:

"I believe that my action today in taking into the court and before the bar of public opinion the question of my own indictment under this fascist-like Smith Act, will have the sympathy and support of all who have a regard for justice and a concern for their own liberty."

Fine and Jackson became Smith Act refugees in 1951. Sidney Steinberg was arrested early this year.

# N.Y. speech by Lattimore

OWEN LATTIMORE will head the speakers list in a three-city celebration of Bill of Rights Day, Thurs., Dec. 15, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The ECLC plans two dinners and a meeting on that date in New York, Newark and Philadelphia.

Lattimore will speak at a dinner in New York's Hotel Capitol; author Harvey O'Connor will act as chairman. The Newark dinner, at Essex House, will hear poet and Rutgers prof. of English John Ciardi, author Ring Lardner Jr., and civil rights attorney Victor Rabinowitz. At a meeting at the Y. M. H. A. at Broad and Pine Sts., Philadelphia, Carey McWilliams, editor of **The Nation**, will speak and Prof. Derk Bodde will be chairman.

Reservations for either of the dinners or the Philadelphia meeting are available at ECLC offices, 421 7th Av., N. Y. 1. Prices: N. Y., $7.50; Newark, $3.75, and Philadelphia, $1.50. The N. Y. and Newark dinners are scheduled for 7 p.m.; the Philadelphia meeting for 8:30.

**THE BLACKLISTED GI'S**

# Army under attack on discharge policy; judge denounces procedure as illegal

THE ARMY last week seemed to be falling back before vigorous assaults on its "loyalty" program, but even in its retreat it promised no fair shake for the GI and threatened a wider censorship over the thoughts and activities of American youth.

The sharpest attack on the Army's system of blacklisting GI's, by giving them less-than-honorable discharges, came in a N. Y. Federal District Court last week. Eight privates are suing Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Herren, commanding the First Army. All had been scheduled for "loyalty" hearings at Ft. Dix before they brought the Army into court and sued to have the hearings enjoined.

In other cases similar hearings have touched on the soldier's family, his reading matter, his associations long before induction. Hundreds with exemplary service records have been given less-than-honorable discharges and now find themselves stigmatized for life, deprived of all GI benefits, unable to continue their schooling or keep a job after an employer has seen their discharge papers.

**THE JUDGE'S MEMO:** Last week Judge David N. Edelstein issued a memorandum on the case. He noted that

> . . . during the plaintiffs' entire military careers they have conducted themselves in an exemplary fashion with character and efficiency ratings of at least excellent and that the allegations or charges against them involve conduct, lawful when performed, which pre-dates their inductions. . . ."

He denounced proceedings based on such charges as "not authorized and illegal," and added:

> "An honorable discharge encompasses a property right as well as civil rights and personal honor. . . . The termination of plaintiffs' army service with less than honorable discharges would so brand and stigmatize them, with consequences too obvious to require specification, as to make irreparable injury undeniable. It is inconceivable to me that the Army would so terminate a soldier's service on the sole basis of conduct occurring prior to induction. The exercise of military jurisdiction to inflict painful and injurious consequences, if not 'punishment,' upon a serviceman for prior civilian conduct would be a shocking perversion of the elementary canons of due process."

The Judge denied the Army's motion to dismiss the case and called for more data before ruling on the privates' request for an injunction against the hearings.

**THE NEW POLICY:** The Servicemen's Defense Committee in N. Y. saw many jokes in a new Army statement that could make the military witch- hunting more deadly and more widespread than ever. Under the new Army policy, if a man up for induction takes the Fifth Amendment in filling out the Army's loyalty form which asks whether or not he was affiliated with any organization on the Attorney General's list, he might be charged later with withholding "security information" and thus deprived of an honorable discharge. He might be blacklisted for continuing an association with family or friends of whom the Army disapproves.

An honorably discharged GI must still toe the mark during his years in the reserve or be discharged without honor. To win a clean bill of health from the Army a young man must have only Army-approved associations from the cradle until he's out of the reserves at the age of 25 or over.

The Army as yet has issued no new regulations in line with the announced policy shift and little can be learned as to how it will affect men now in the Army (including the eight who brought suit) or those already penalized with less than honorable discharges. Defense Dept. general counsel Mansfield Sprague is scheduled to clarify Army policy on that point in a reappearance before the Hennings subcommittee this month.

In New York, meanwhile, it was learned that a number of ex-GI's carrying other-than-honorable discharges may soon institute new legal action against the Army to win the honorable discharges to which their service records entitle them.

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Tickets—1.50, 2.00, 2.50, 3.00, 3.50, 4.00 tax incl.

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Saturday, December 31
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NEW LOCATION

# 8 Million? 20 Million? You, Too?

Chief Justice Warren estimates* that "more than 8 million Americans must undergo" security procedures. Fortune Magazine—where Big Business speaks its piece—says it "may be as high as 20 million."

Every trade unionist knows that "security procedure" is only Front Office talk for blacklists, informers, guilt-by-association! It adds up to firing, lifetime disgrace and unemployment, injunction and the ultimate destruction of Labor's organizations and rights.

On the record, the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce spawned the "security program." It's the biggest "give-away" program of all; the thief of Labor's security, and of Labor's Constitutional guarantees.

December fifteenth is Bill of Rights Day: a fitting time for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to hail the merger of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. As we wish the greatest success to this union of two great bodies of Labor, we urge on every trade union leader—and on every worker—the recognition of Labor's most urgent task.

To reclaim government for the people, means to reclaim the Bill of Rights for Labor. No American is free, if Labor is shackled. No American has a future, if Big Business destroys Labor's independence today.

* Fortune Magazine, Nov., 1955
3,000,000 members of the armed forces
2,400,000 government employees
3,000,000 employees of defense contractors

Join Us In Celebrating

## BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

**THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1955**

**NEW YORK**
Speaker:
Owen Lattimore
Chairman:
Harvey O'Connor
Hotel Capitol
Eighth Av. at 51st St.
7 p.m. $7.50

**NEWARK**
Speakers:
Prof. John Ciardi
Ring Lardner Jr.
Victor Rabinowitz
Chairman:
Prof. Broadus Mitchell
Essex House
1050 Broad Street
7 p.m. $3.75

**PHILADELPHIA**
Speakers:
Earl B. Dickerson
Carey McWilliams
Chairman:
Prof. Dork Bodde
Y.M.H.A.—Broad and Pine Sts.
8:30 p.m. $1.50

HARVEY O'CONNOR, Chairman
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Av., New York 1, N. Y.

Please reserve .......... places for me at ..............................

I can't attend your celebration but wish you success. ..............

I enclose $ ..............................

Name ..............................

Address ..............................

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Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

# CALENDAR

## Chicago

Starts **FRI., DEC. 23.** American Premiere **"BORIS GODUNOV,"** gorgeous new Soviet Film Classic at regular prices. **CINEMA ANNEX,** 3210 W. Madison St. Nr. Kedzie.

**FIFTH SOLIDARITY CHRISTMAS PARTY.** Sun., Dec. 18, 2-5 p.m., Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt; honored guest: **DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG,** Smith Act victim, recently released from Women's Federal Penitentiary. Refreshments, entertainment, kiddie gifts. Donation: adults, $1; children, 25c. Sponsor: Political Victims Welfare Comm. MAKE THIS AFFAIR A MUST!

## Los Angeles

**RESERVE NEW YEAR'S EVE**
for the big dark to dawn
**BEAUX ARTS BALL**
COSTUMES: Plain, Fancy or None. Donation: $5—Food & Drink Free. Sponsored by **California Quarterly.**

**CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS** 8th Annual Cabaret & Dance, Fri., Dec. 23, Danish Aud., 1359 W. 24th St. at Vermont. **LIVE BAND.** Jewish Youth Dancers; noted Mexican-American guitarist. Tel. RE 4-7802 for resv. & tickets. Adm. $1.10.

## San Francisco-Bay Area

Bring in a Brighter New Year
with the
**NATIONAL GUARDIAN**
New Year's Eve Party
**San Francisco:** 2528 Fulton Street. Donation: $1. With dinner $2. Dinner from 8:30 p.m. For dinner reservations call MI 8-5184.
**East Bay:**
Held jointly with Sidney Roger Radio Comm. 445 Fairmont Av., Oakland. Donation: $1.50. With dinner $3. Dinner from 9 p.m. For dinner reservations call LA 4-4289. Music, dancing, show. Remember last year? Get's better all the time.

**BILL OF RIGHTS WEEK CELEBRATION** with Barrows Dunham, author; and George D. Collins Jr., veteran legislator. Fri., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m., California Hall, 625 Polk, S. F. Donation: $1. VETERANS CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE.

## New Haven, Conn.

**BILL OF RIGHTS DAY.** Anne Braden speaks on Louisville, Ky. sedition case. Also Nora Stanton Barney, outstanding architect and fighter for civil rights. Sun., Dec. 18, 3 p.m., Hotel Garde, New Haven. Auspices: Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights.

## New York

★ Don't Be Sorry! Don't Be Late! ★
Save the Following Date!
**Friday, December 16—8:30 P.M.**
Join the **YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM** at its Gala Pre-Holiday Social.
**AN EVENING OF AUTHENTIC AFRICAN AND PRIMITIVE DANCE**
Featuring
**Curtiss James**—Former Partner of Pearl Primus, foremost exponent of African Dance in America.
**Ella & Michelle Clark**—Sensational Juvenile Hits from recent B'way show "House of Flowers," scheduled to appear on NBC-TV Theatre on Dec. 6.
**YORKVILLE TEMPLE**
157 E. 86th Street
Free Refreshments
Social Dancing till 1 a.m.
★ Contribution $1 ★

**JEFFERSON SUNDAY FORUMS**
Dec. 11—SIGMUND FREUD: FROM SCIENTIST TO PSEUDO-SCIENTIST. Freud's development from Neurologist to Psychoanalyst. Speaker: Dr. Harry K. Wells.
Dec. 18—THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY: HISTORY AND MYTH. Jewish Revolutionary Struggles and Conflicts within the Early Christian Community. Speaker: Benjamin Levine.
**JEFFERSON SCHOOL**
575 6th Av. 8 p.m. $1

**PAUL DRAPER** in the Bronx! In classic and jazz dances. **Martha Schlamme,** popular international songstress. Sat., Dec. 17, 8:30 p.m., at Bronx Winter Garden, 1874 Washington Av. For reservations call weekdays 11 a.m.-2 pm., WY 1-1606.

**CLUB CINEMA** (430 Sixth Av.) presents **"FARREBIQUE"** (French, 1947) on Dec. 10. A hauntingly beautiful picture showing a year in the life of a French farm family, filmed with great love and dignity. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"HOME OF THE BRAVE"** (American, 1949).

**BAZAAR-VILLAGE ALP**
28 Greenwich Av. Fri., Dec. 9, 7-11 p.m.; Sat., Dec. 10, noon-11 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 11, 2-10 p.m. Jewelry, toys, aprons, ceramics, leather goods, lots more—wonderful gifts at bargain prices.

# CLASSIFIED

## General

**FREE!** Anatomical Vitamin Chart! Educational and Interesting. Send for your **FREE** copy! R. Wornow, Ph.G., P. O. Box 535 Jamaica 31, New York

Order now—$1.25 for Graphic Arts 1956 **ART CALENDAR**
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**HOLIDAY CARDS** for **PEACE,** for **JOY!** Rushed for your entire list. 4 beautiful color designs by **ROCKWELL KENT;** famed Swiss artist **HANS ERNI;** Americans **PELE & PATRI.** Assorted, 8 for $1; 20 for $2; 48 for $4. ORDER NOW — **PEACE SEALS** in Hans Erni design —100, $1; 250, $2. American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St., San Francisco 2, Calif.

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## Books & Publications

Said **LANGSTON HUGHES** and **ROY De CARVA:** "We've had so many books about how bad life is, maybe it's time to have one showing how good it is." Their new book, THE SWEET FLYPAPER OF LIFE, does just that via 100 photographs and a deeply felt narrative. Paper ed. $1, cloth $2.95. Mail orders gladly filled; please add 15c for shipping. **BOOKFAIR,** 113 W. 49 St., N. Y. 19.

**Bible reveals NOW** is the time of the end! Resurrection on earth and everlasting life on earth, not heaven! Free. Write: **HARVEST,** Jefferson City, Missouri.

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**FEEL YOUNG AGAIN!** Regain your health and beauty. Read "Jovoro Legend" about new tea for energy and charm! Send $1. A. Rahman, Box 363, Lawnside, N. J.

# NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

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Design and Craftsmanship. Choice of woods and finishes. Hi-Fi installations. Drawings, estimates free. **Beran-Orban, 322 E. 23d OR 4-6123.**

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**PRACTICAL NURSE:** Care Mother, Infant. Sleep in or out. Excellent references. Ten years experience. Phone: GL 3-6995.

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**MEN-WOMEN-HOUSEWIVES.** Investigate Business Opportunity. Invest no money. Own your own business. Be your own boss. Start and earn $200-$500 month. Part time. Call NA 8-3812, NI 8-6359.

# the SPECTATOR

## The frontier of poverty

*The Colorado Committee to Protect Civil Liberties seeks $30,000 to appeal convictions of the seven victims involved in the Rocky Mountain Smith Act Case. The Committee writes: "We believe, in the appeal of this case, that it may fulfill the hope of the Denver Post and the Colorado Labor Advocate to the effect that . . . the Denver case may afford the Supreme Court an opportunity to declare the Smith Act unconstitutional."*

*Excerpted herewith is the statement made by 30-year old Anna Correa Bary in court as she received her sentence of four years. She is a member of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO; her mother is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; her father was a pioneer in organization of agricultural workers. Her husband, Arthur Bary, was convicted with her.*

I AM ONE OF 50,000 Americans of Mexican descent in Denver Like so many of them I was raised in Denver, went to Gilpin, Whittier, Cole and Manual High School and was graduated from North High.

My father worked in the beet fields of northern Colorado and at times became a migrant laborer seeking work in Wyoming and Montana while the rest of the family remained in Denver. His work was seasonal, bringing in a family income of around $350 a year. Had my sisters and I not sold newspapers after school to supplement the family income we would have been forced to quit school and work in the beet fields too.

ANNA BARY

It is a confirmed fact that our people of Mexican descent in Denver and throughout the Southwest live in what Senator Chavez of New Mexico has recently called a "frontier of poverty but not of despair."

**FIRST-CLASS CITIZENSHIP:** As a youth I encountered much discrimination in my daily life and at times had thought it was a crime to have been born of Mexican descent. But my father comforted me by saying I should be proud of my nationality and never try to deny it.

I accepted this outlook and in so doing, the aspiration of achieving the status of first-class citizenship like other Americans grew within me. Some Community Chest organizations encouraged me and others to seek organization of our minority group, for at that time it was almost non-existent. My goal ever since has been to achieve this. . . .

I WAS CONVICTED under the Smith Act for conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence. I deny this. I have never believed this and I have never taught it. What acts had I committed? What was the evidence against me?

It was said that I was in charge of Mexican work in the Communist Party; that my husband and I urged support of a resolution for first-class citizenship for Mexican-Americans; that I helped organize others to participate in the annual beet hearings in our state to raise the wages of the beet workers; that I urged people to go to the city council hearings to support rent control; and that we worked for the building of a national organization of Mexican-Americans.

**SIMPLE AS PIE:** In order to make all these democratic activities appear evil and to convict me, a paid informer who was planted in our organization, and who would do anything for a dollar, testified falsely, yes falsely, that he heard me say, "I am going to liberate the Negro and Mexican people through revolution." It was as simple as pumpkin pie. That's all that was needed to distort my daily activities. That's all that was needed to put me and my aspirations for first-class citizenship in jail.

*Contributions toward the appeal of the Rocky Mountain Smith Act Cases may be sent to Colorado Committee to Protect Civil Rights, Room 307, Cooper Building, Denver 2.*

## Jenny Wells Vincent Southwest folk-songs

FOUR FOLK-SONGS of the Southwest, sung delightfully in Spanish and English by Jenny Wells Vincent, have been released in two 78 r.p.m. discs by Cantemos Records. **Las Mananitas,** a birthday song, and **El Capotin,** a gay love song, are on one record; **La Firolera,** a comment on marriage and **El Dia de Tu Santo,** a saint's day song make up the other.

All are lilting and danceable and Mrs. Vincent engagingly conveys their charm and her own. Cantemos promises more releases from the Southwest. The records can be ordered directly from Cantemos Records, Taos, N. M., at $1 each.

—E. B.

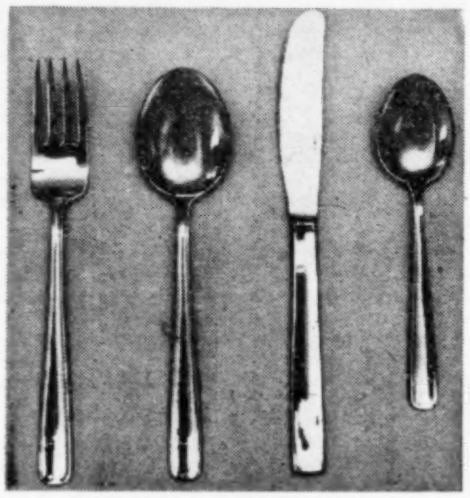
GIFTS FOR ALL

# GUARDIAN HOLIDAY BAZAAR

SHOP EARLY

## SPECIAL OFFER

2 Gifts for the Price of 1



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Consisting of 6 each of dinner fork, soup spoon, dinner knife and tea spoon.

Imported stainless steel; sturdily constructed, exquisitely designed. All utensils are one piece.

PLUS

SIX STEAK KNIVES

**Of same design and construction as table setting. Solid handles, serrated edges, one piece. Gift box.**

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**BOTH FOR $14.95 ppd.**

**ALSO:**

**32 pc. Service for 8 plus 8 steak knives...$19.95 ppd.**

* This offer is made possible by a special purchase and will be withdrawn when our limited stock is depleted.

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1st quality sheer with seams in new shades. "Treasure" (light beige) or "Blush" (darker beige). Sizes A (8-9), B (9½-10), C (10½ and over).

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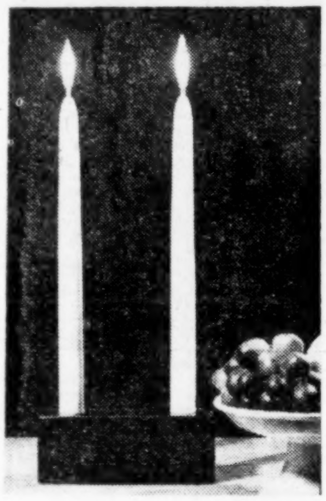

A new idea in candles. Burns on lighter fluid. Ends messy drip and melt-down. Precision-crafted of plastic with aluminum cartridge to hold fluid. Self-adjusting spring base fits any sconce or holder. Lasts for hours on pennies worth of fluid.

Comes in snow white, antique ivory, cardinal red or bitter green.

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Hand-woven by Guatemalan Indian craftsmen in brilliant colors and intricate, distinctive patterns. NO TWO THE SAME. Not prints—they are beyond imitation by factory technique. We have shopped similar handcraft at twice the price. Heavy, tightly woven cottons in beautiful background colors of black, navy, green and brown.

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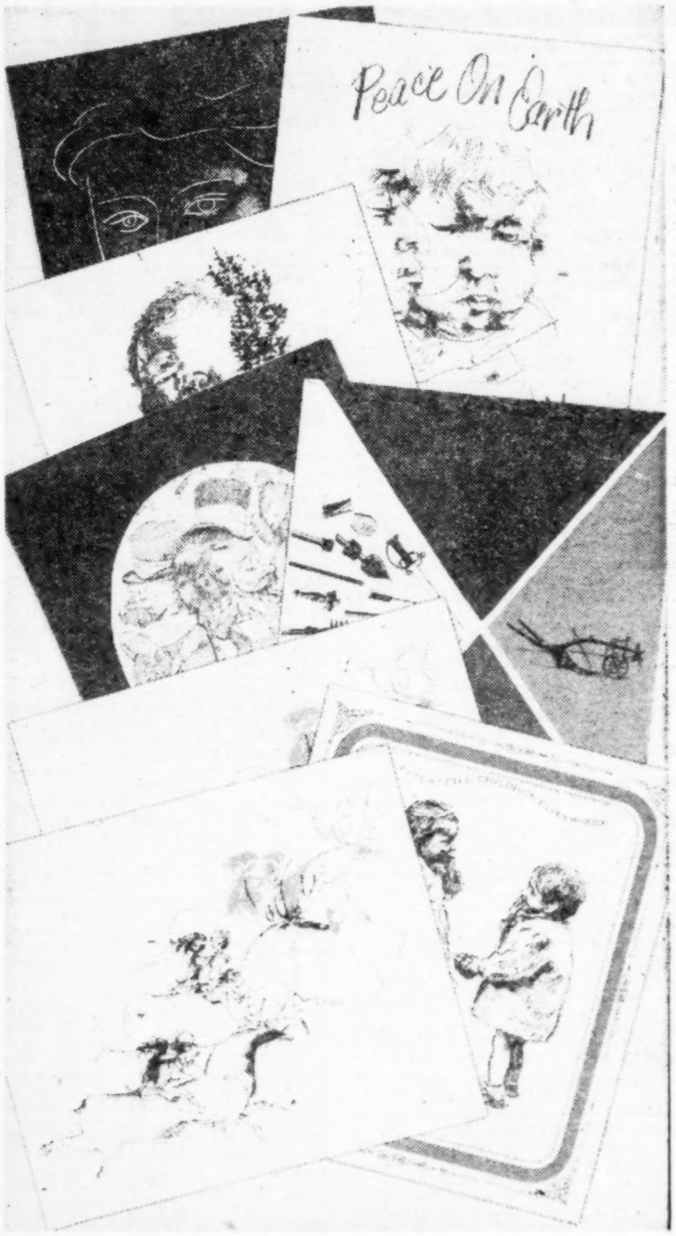


## 1955-56 Guardian Holiday Greetings Cards

In the past six years Guardian Holiday Greeting cards have become a tradition.

This year we are happy to offer a new set of eight beautiful cards (7 different designs) drawn expressly for us by a group of American artists. The cards are 5¼" x 6⅝"; printed in four colors on heavy white stock. Each card has a design on the cover and an additional message inside with room for the inclusion of personal messages. Sold only in sets of eight.

**Set of 8 cards with envelopes......$1 ppd.**

## DRESS-UP APRON

Hand blocked colors printed in Hindu Paisley design on homespun cotton with black background. This 27" wide apron is perfect for the hostess, and equally good for transforming the basic black dress with a dash of color.

**$1.50 ppd.**